

Carleton University
Department of Political Science

Winter 2006

PSCI 5200F
Nationalism

Seminar: Wednesday 11:35-2:25; Room: C665 Loeb

Instructor:	Professor Jill Vickers	Phones:	Tue & Wed. 235-8473 (not after 10 pm please)
Office:	D694		Thur-Mon. 613- 272-2688
Office Hours:	Wed 3 – 4 p.m. Thur. 9:30 – 11:30 a.m. Or by appointment	Email:	jill.vickers@sympatico.ca

Calendar Description: A seminar on the historical and comparative study of nationalism, with emphasis on its role in the promotion of political change.

Overview: In the seminar, we will explore nationalism, nationhood, nationalist ideology, nation-building and nationalist movements as political phenomena. Within a global framework, we will explore how national phenomena are manifested in different parts of the world; and in different historical periods. Students are encouraged to concentrate on aspects of nationalism most interesting to them in terms of their own research and intellectual agenda. Consequently, we will approach the subject from different disciplinary vantage points: theory, international politics, comparative politics, decolonisation, and in relation to faith, gender, race and sexual orientation. To develop a shared vocabulary, we will all read and debate core texts, organized according to different geo-political contexts. To provide a sense of the breadth of the field, we will share presentations of key readings through reading reports. We then will explore specific cases through seminar presentations and research papers. If the class is large, we will hold an end-of-term conference for you to present your final papers to your classmates.

Nationalism and nationhood are perplexing, multiform political phenomena capable of combining with many other ideologies. In Europe, it usually began as a liberal, reforming and often revolutionary doctrine associated with 'modernity', but later developed into conservative, anti-reform, and ultimately fascist movements. Much of the literature explaining nations and nationalism is ideological, patriarchal and Euro-centric. In this course, nationalism is conceptualized as involving political phenomena which vary significantly in different historical and geo-political contexts; and in different stages of nation-state making, consolidation and restructuring. We will focus on it as an element in nation-state building and maintenance, as much as an element in national liberation.

The intellectual framework of the course rejects the idea that there is only one kind of nationalism, or that it is the invention only of Europeans. Instead, we will examine it as a complex set of ideas and values variously used in diverse projects by differently located peoples. For example, we will compare the official nationalisms of nation-states with internal, subordinate nationalisms associated with stateless nations seeking autonomy or independence; with diasporic trans-national movements, emerging in the global environment. Nationalism emerges as a species of identity politics mobilised to achieve many different political goals. We will use the tools of comparison, case studies, historical and textual analysis.

My personal research interests will be apparent in the framework and choice of literature. I am currently engaged in a long-term research project focused gender/nation relationships in 30 countries, and trying to theorize why women have been excluded/or alienated from nation/alist movements in some cases (especially in western Europe) but allied with national projects in others. I am also trying to understand why gender/nation relations change over time so that a national project which was open to women and compatible with feminist goals in one period becomes closed to women's influence and hostile to feminist goals in another. The project has a website at <http://www.carleton.ca/genderandnation/> which you may consult; and a file of articles which students interested in working in this area may use.

Texts: Some texts are on reserve in the library Those listed below will be available in the bookstore. I do not expect you to buy them all. But please ensure you have access to the core readings. Most are readers which include a collection of excerpts or articles.

Beiner.1999. *Theorizing Nationalism*.

Couture, Nielsen & Seymour. 1996. *Rethinking Nationalism*.

Dahbour & Ishay. 1995. *The Nationalism Reader*.

Eley & Suny. 1996. *Becoming National: A Reader*.

Gibernau. 1999. *Nations Without States: Political Communities in a Global Age*

Marx, 2003. *Faith in the Nation: Exclusionary Origins of Nationalism*.

Seymour 2004. *The Fate of the Nation*.

Smith, Anthony. 1998. *Nationalism and Modernism: A Critical Survey of Recent Theories of Nations and Nationalism* [Everyone should purchase this text.]

Ranchold-Nilsson & Tetreault 2000. *Women, States and Nationalism: At Home in the Nation?*

Wilford & Miller. 1998, *Women, Ethnicity and Nationalism: The Politics of Transition*.

Some other useful texts are available in any second hand bookstore are:

Baum,2001. *Nationalism, Religion & Ethics*.

Beiner2003. *Liberalism, Nationalism, Citizenship*.

Hobsbawm. 1994. *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780*. 2nd ed.

Jenkins & Sofos .eds. 1996. *Nation and Identity in Contemporary Europe*

Smith & Hutchinson. 1996. *Nationalism*. (another reader)

Journals and Websites:

“The Nationalism Project” <http://www.nationalismproject.org/index.htm>

Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism, http://www.upei.ca/crsn/html/xxix_toc.html

Nations and Nationalism This is the best journal in the field. Carleton does not hold it, but you can get texts via UNCOVER.

Canadian Journal of Philosophy 1996, Vol 22 Supplemental, Couture, Nielson & Seymour. eds

Rethinking Nationalism [Also available as a book.]

The Nationality Papers focuses on post-Soviet cases.

Basis of Evaluation:

1.	Reading reports & contribution to the seminar.....	25%
2.	Seminar/end of term conference presentation.....	25%
3.	Research Paper (20-25pp approx.) due April 7*.....	50%

*This is the final day I can accept papers according to University rules.

Consult the calendar for information concerning the grade of INC

Expectations:

Core Readings –Summaries: Students are expected to write a one-page summary of each week’s core text and several questions about the text, in advance of the seminar. Bring them to class and be prepared to introduce the main theme. Do not try to summarize the reading in one page. Identify the key concept, idea, proposition about national phenomena.

Reading Reports - The purpose of the reports is so the group will develop a command of the literature, in addition to the core texts and papers. The skills you will develop include textual analysis, abstracting arguments and writing about them in a clear, compact text. Do not describe the text in detail. Report analytically the author's main themes and arguments about the nature of nationalism. The oral report should not exceed 15 minutes (aim for 10). Provide a 1-2 page outline for me & for class-mates at the start of the seminar. You will be

assessed on your ability to abstract the core argument(s) of a text, present it analytically, and generate discussion.

Contribution to the seminar: You will be assessed on the quality of your interventions as well as their frequency. You will also be assessed on your contribution to the civility of the seminar.

Seminar/End of Term Conference Presentations: Choose your general topic by January 19th at the latest and provide me with an outline and bibliography as soon as possible in person or by e-mail. Assuming a small class, most of you will present during the term within the framework outlined for the major topics. Some of you will present at the end-of-term conference in Review Week (April 6th). You should take about 30 minutes to develop your arguments & survey the relevant literature. Prepare an outline (max. 3 pages) to distribute in class. Develop questions to focus discussion on your presentation. If you wish, identify a core text and arrange with me to make it available to seminar members at least one week prior to your presentation. All students should read the core text.

Feedback: I will provide e-mail feedback on your reading reports and seminar presentation. Please contact me after your session for feedback.

Research papers: I encourage you to use your reading reports and seminar presentation to develop your research paper. I am willing to comment on outlines or drafts if I receive them no later than March 16th.

Respect for Divergent Views: We will be discussing many controversial issues about which people of good will can disagree in good faith. I expect you to treat me and one another with respect and allow everyone to express their views. I will ensure these rules are followed.

Please Note: I cannot receive papers from you by e-mail or fax. I am happy to receive proposals, seminar outlines etc. by e-mail but not as attachments. Since we all have different systems, when communicating with me or members of the seminar, please insert the text in your e-mail as a quote. I will construct an e-mail list for the seminar. Please respect your colleagues and my privacy by not using the addresses on the list for any other purpose

OVERVIEW OF MAJOR THEMES & READINGS:

Jan 5 Course overview; discussion of texts and sources; discussion of methodological issues. Selection of reading reports for initial weeks

Jan 12 **Some Theoretical and Methodological Issues**

Core Texts:

Yael Tamir, "Theoretical Difficulties in the Study of Nationalism" in Couture, Nielson & Seymour, 1996, *Rethinking Nationalism*.

OR

David Held, "The Decline of the Nation State", in Eley & Suny. 1996. *Becoming National*.

Reading Reports: Some of . . .

Buchanan, "What's So Special About Nations?", Couture et. al. 283-309

Connor, Walker "National Self-Determination and Tomorrow's Political Map" in Cairns et. al. *Citizenship, Diversity & Pluralism*: 163-77.

Couture et. al "Introduction: Questioning the Ethnic/Civic Dichotomy": 1-61

Dahbour, "The Nation-State as a Political Community: Critique of the Communitarian Argument for National Self-Determination", Couture et al: 311-343.

de Wachter, "In Search of a Post-National Identity: Who Are My People?", Ibid: 197-217

Van de Putte, "Democracy & Nationalism", Ibid. 161-195

Sholte, 1996. "The Geography of Collective Identities in a Globalizing World", *Review of International Political Economy*, Winter: 565-607.

Nationalism, Europe & Modernity

In European thought, nationalism has been associated with the modern nation-state system and nationalist "one-nation/one-state" ideology, although many different variants - "western" vs. "eastern" & civic" vs. "ethnic" – are theorized. The norm of cultural homogeneity within states, however, underpins the ideas of both liberal and conservative political thinkers. Although there are some who think nations are primordial or perennial phenomena, most theorists assume nationalism, as an ideology with the objective of having cultural and political boundaries co-incide, is a modern, European invention. Although nationalism has been central to the development of western liberalism and democracy in Europe, it has also been associated with authoritarianism and fascism. With a few exceptions it has excluded women and assumed whiteness and heterosexuality as the norm.

Jan 19 Europe & Nationalism I: The Modernist Thesis

Core Text:

Smith, Anthony. 1998. *Nationalism & Modernism*. Preface, Intro & Ch. 1.

Reading Reports: Some of . . .

Canovan, 1999. *Nationhood and Political Theory*.

Gellner. 1986. *Nations & Nationalism*.

Greenfield, Liah. 1993. *Five Roads to Modernity*.

Hobsbawm, 1994. *Nations & Nationalism Since 1780*, 2 ed: 1-45;

Kohn, Hans. 1975. *Nationalism*.

Kedourie, Eli. *Nationalism*.

Smith, Anthony. 1998. *Nationalism and Modernism*. Part 1: 25-142.

Jan 26th. Europe & Nationalism II: Conflicting Views

Core texts:

Marx, 2003. *Faith in the Nation: Exclusionary Origins of Nationalism*, Introduction & Ch. 1.

OR

Hroch, "From National Movement to Fully-Formed Nation: The Nation-Building Process in Europe"

Eley & Suny, 60-78.

AND

Schnapper, "Beyond the Opposition: Civic Nation versus Ethnic Nation in Couture et. al. : 219-234.

AND Smith. 1998. *Nationalism and Modernism*: 143-198.

Reading Reports: some of

Kaplan, Gisella, "Europe" in Lois West, *Feminist Nationalism*:

Miller, "Secession and the Principle of Nationality" in Couture et. al. : 261-281.

Smith, Anthony. 1986. *The Ethnic Origins of Nationalism*.

Yuval-Davis, Nira. 1996. *Gender & Nation*.

Feb 2. Nationalism & Marxism-During and After the Cold War.

Nationalism within Marxist & socialist thought & within the political practice of communist regimes is another critical, European context. After the horrors of the second world war in which the worst excesses of nationalism resulted in the deaths of millions, nationalism came to be seen as a negative force in western Europe. It was always seen in a negative light within Marxist thought, although it was much manipulated within communist states, especially in the cold-war era. In the post-Soviet period, nationalisms occupy an increasingly important role in conflicts & "nation-building" in the region. The framework of de-colonization is also applied.

a) Nationalism and Marxism in the Soviet Era

Core Text: Dahbour & Ishay, *The Nationalism Reader*, Part IV: 178-214

b) Nationalism in the Post-Soviet Context

Core text: Jenkins & Sofos eds. 1996. *Nation & Identity in Contemporary Europe*: 1-32.

Reading Reports: Some of:

Chin & Kaiser. 1996. *Russians as The New Minority: Ethnicity & Nationalism in the Soviet Successor States*.

Draklic, Slavenka. 1993. *Balkan Express*.

Ignatieff, Michael. 1993. *Blood and Belonging*. (Relevant sections)

Jenkins & Sofos eds. 1996. *Nation and Identity in Contemporary Europe*. Part IV

Rakowska-Harmstone. 1994. "The Dialectics of Nationalism in the USSR", *Problems of Communism*, May-June, 1994. Vol. XXIII: 1-23.

Slezkine. 1996. "The USSR as a Communal Apartment, or How a Socialist State Promoted Ethnic Particularism in Eley & Suny, 203-238.

Smith, Graham et. al. 1998. *Nation-building in the Post-Soviet Borderlands*.

Vickers, Miranda. & James Pettifer. 1997. *Albania: From Anarchy to a Balkan Identity*.

Wilford & Miller, *Women, Ethnicity & Nationalism: The Politics of Transition*, Intro & E. Europe sections

Wilson, Andrew. 1995. *Ukrainian Nationalism in the 1990s*.

Feb 9 Anti-Colonial, Anti-Imperialist Nationalisms

Anti-colonial and anti-imperialist nationalisms provide a complex context for the study of nationalisms. Post-colonial theorists struggle to understand if "third-world" nationalisms are imitative (as European theorists claim) or original. Chatterjee identifies both modernizing (Nehru) & anti-modern forms (Gandhi) of nationalism intertwined within the same Indian independence movement. Both were open to women, although on different grounds. Following independence, an official, post-colonial nationalism emerged based on secularism, which is now being challenged by militant Hindu nationalists seeking a Hindu state. Modernizing versus anti-modern forms of nationalism attract different allies. Jayawardena describes strong, early alliances between modernizing, anti-colonial nationalisms & women's movements in many Asian countries. Moghadam, by contrast, illustrates the negative consequences for women of anti-modern, "fundamentalist" nationalisms in many countries. Moreover, in reaction to U.S. domination of "the new world order", gender roles, regulation of sexuality and issues of culture and faith are increasingly important in these diverse contexts for nationalisms.

Core Texts:

Dahbour & Ishay, *The Nationalism Reader*, Part VI (Sun Yat Sen, Nehru, Al-Husri, Khomeini, Senghor & Fanon: 240-283)

Eley & Suny Part III "Colonialism, Race & Identity"

Reading Reports: Several of.

Anderson 1991. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins & Spread of Nationalism*.

Chatterjee. 1993. *The Nation and Its Fragments*.

Jayawardena. 1986. *Feminism & Nationalism in the Third World*.

Oheabulam, U.O. 1977. *Nationalism in Colonial and Post-Colonial Africa*.

Feb 16 Post-Colonial & Fundamentalist Nationalisms

Core Text:

Chatterjee, Partha. 1986. *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World*: 1-52.

Reading Reports: Some of . . .

Hansen, T. 1999. *The Saffron Wave: Democracy & Hindu Nationalism in Modern India*

Moghadam. 1997. *Gender & National Identity* (Middle East)

Shayegan, D. . 1992. *Cultural Schizophrenia: Islamic Societies Confronting the West*.

Sider, Martin. 1992. *Judaism, Nationalism & the Land of Israel*

Feb 23 & March 2 Research Break: No Classes

March 9 White Nationalisms in "White" Settler Societies.

Nationalisms inspired European imperialist ventures, justified ideologically by supposed European superiority. Anderson locates the origins of nationalism in the rebellions of Creoles (native-born European settlers) in the United States & Latin America. Indigenous authors assert that nations existed (without states) in North America prior to European contact. The context of nationalisms in "settler societies" (Stasiulis & Yuval-Davis, 1995: 3) differs between those where nationalism emerged out of rebellion and where ties with the European power were gradually loosened without rebellion, as in Canada. "New" societies encapsulated Indigenous peoples and other European settler fragments. They are often the site of multiple, internal nationalisms, including diaspora nationalisms. South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, Australia and the countries of Latin America share this context. By contrast to the dominant European context, white women often played a significant role in "nation-building".

Core Text:

Beiner, "Citizenship and Nationalism: Is Canada a 'Real' Country?" *Liberalism, Nationalism Citizenship*: 166-179.

AND

Dabour & Ishay, 1995. *The Nationalism Reader*, Part VII, "American Perspectives"

Reading Reports: Some of.

Cairns (ed).1999,*Citizenship,Diversity & Pluralism* .Intro & Ch 5 .

Castles et. al. 1998. *Mistaken Identity: Multiculturalism & the Demise of Nationalism in Australia*.

Conlogue, Ray. 1996. *Impossible Nation*. (Canada, Quebec)

Essien-UDom. 1962. *Black Nationalism: A Search for Identity in America*.

Eddy & Schreuder. 1988. *The Rise of Colonial Nationalism*.

Lipset, M. S. 1979. *The First New Nation*. (US)

Marx, Anthony. 1998. *Making Race and Nation*, Intro & Part 2 (US & South Africa).

Vickers & de Seve. eds. 2000 "Gender & Nation", Special Issue, *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 35/2 JCS.

March 16 Nations Without States & Globalization

In a world organized into about 200 states, there are over 5, 000 nations. Some "nations without states" are nations of Indigenous peoples of great duration. Others have become viable because of globalization and the creation of multi-state units and multi-level governance.

Core text:

Guibernau. 1999. *Nations Without States*. Intro. & Chs 1 & 2 & conclusion

Reading reports:Some of

Alfred, G. 1995. *Heeding the Voices of Our Ancestors: Kahnawake Mohawk Politics & the Rise of Native Nationalism*.

Guibernau. 1999. Chapters 3-7

Keating, M. 1996. *Nations Against The State: The New Politics of Nationalism in Quebec, Catalonia and Scotland*.

McRoberts, Kenneth. *Catalonia: Nation Building Without a State*.

O'Ballance, E. 1996. *The Kurdish Struggle 1920-1994*.

March 23, 31 Other Selected Research Issues

Presentations of seminars on topics not listed above.

April 6 If needed an end-of-term conference will be held for the remaining students to present.

April 7 Last day to submit research papers.

Academic Accommodations

For Students with Disabilities: Students with disabilities requiring academic accommodations in this course are encouraged to contact the Paul Menton Centre (PMC) for Students with Disabilities (500 University Centre) to complete the necessary forms. After registering with the PMC, make an appointment to meet with the instructor in order to discuss your needs **at least two weeks before the first in-class test or CUTV midterm exam**. This will allow for sufficient time to process your request. Please note the following deadlines for submitting completed forms to the PMC for formally scheduled exam accommodations: **November 7th, 2005** for fall and fall/winter term courses, and **March 10, 2006** for winter term courses.

For Religious Observance: Students requesting accommodation for religious observances should apply in writing to their instructor for alternate dates and/or means of satisfying academic requirements. Such requests should be made during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist, but no later than two weeks before the compulsory academic event. Accommodation is to be worked out directly and on an individual basis between the student and the instructor(s) involved. Instructors will make accommodations in a way that avoids academic disadvantage to the student. Instructors and students may contact an Equity Services Advisor for assistance (www.carleton.ca/equity).

For Pregnancy: Pregnant students requiring academic accommodations are encouraged to contact an Equity Advisor in Equity Services to complete a *letter of accommodation*. Then, make an appointment to discuss your needs with the instructor at least two weeks prior to the first academic event in which it is anticipated the accommodation will be required.

Plagiarism: The Undergraduate Calendar defines plagiarism as: "to use and pass off as one's own idea or product, work of another without expressly giving credit to another." The Graduate Calendar states that plagiarism has occurred when a student either: (a) directly copies another's work without acknowledgment; or (b) closely paraphrases the equivalent of a short paragraph or more without acknowledgment; or (c) borrows, without acknowledgment, any ideas in a clear and recognizable form in such a way as to present them as the student's own thought, where such ideas, if they were the student's own would contribute to the merit of his or her own work. Instructors who suspect plagiarism are required to submit the paper and supporting documentation to the Departmental Chair who will refer the case to the Dean. It is not permitted to hand in the same assignment to two or more courses. The Department's Style Guide is available at: www.carleton.ca/polisci/undergrad/styleguide.pdf

Oral Examination: At the discretion of the instructor, students may be required to pass a brief oral examination on research papers and essays.

Submission and Return of Term Work: Papers must be handed directly to the instructor and will not be date-stamped in the departmental office. Late assignments may be submitted to the drop box in the corridor outside B640 Loeb. Assignments will be retrieved every business day at 4 p.m., stamped with that day's date, and then distributed to the instructor. For essays not returned in class please attach a **stamped, self-addressed envelope** if you wish to have your assignment returned by mail. Please note that assignments sent via fax or email will not be accepted. Final exams are intended solely for the purpose of evaluation and will not be returned.

Approval of final grades: Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor, *subject to the approval of the Faculty Dean*.

Course Requirements: Students must fulfill all course requirements in order to achieve a passing grade. Failure to hand in any assignment will result in a grade of F. Failure to write the final exam will result in a grade of ABS. FND (Failure – No Deferred) is assigned when a student's performance is so poor during the term that they cannot pass the course even with 100% on the final examination. In such cases, instructors may use this notation on the Final Grade Report to indicate that a student has already failed the course due to inadequate term work and should not be permitted access to a deferral of the examination. Deferred final exams are available ONLY if the student is in good standing in the course.

Connect Email Accounts: The Department of Political Science strongly encourages students to sign up for a campus email account. Important course and University information will be distributed via the Connect email system. See <http://connect.carleton.ca> for instructions on how to set up your account.

RESEARCH BIBLIOGRAPHY

The research bibliography is intended to get you started with some of the main sources. It is by no means complete.

JOURNALS: Our library holds a full run of *The Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism*. However, it does not hold the more recent journal - *Nations & Nationalisms* which you should consult via **Uncover** (allow enough time for this or via the Internet <http://www.cup.org/>).

A. EUROPEAN EXPERIENCES AND THEORIES OF NATIONALISM

I. NATIONALISM, GLOBALIZATION and THE END OF THE COLD WAR

- Anderson, B. 1992. *Long Distance Nationalism: World Capitalism and the Rise of Identity Politics*. Centre for Asian Studies, Amsterdam.
- Billig, Michael. 1995. *Banal Nationalism*, Sage.
- Boyer and Drache (eds.) *Do Nation States Have a Future?* Routledge.
- Held, David. "The Decline of the Nation State," in Eley and Suny. *Becoming National*.
- Horsman & Marshall. 1994. *After the Nation State: Citizens, Tribalism and the New World Disorder*, Harper Collins.
- Ignatieff, Michael. *Blood and Belonging: Journeys into the New Nationalism*, U. of Toronto Press. Espec. Introduction and conclusion.
- Mann, Michael. 1999. "Has Globalization Ended the Rise and Rise of the Nation-State? In *International Order and the Future of World Politics* eds Paul & Hall, Cambridge U Press.
- Mudirribe, *Nations, Identities, Cultures*, Duke U. Press.
- Ohmae, Kenichi. 1995. *The End of the Nation State*, Free Press.
- Oommen, Tik. (ed.) *Citizenship and National Identity: From Colonialism to Globalism*.
- Richmond, Anthony. 1994. *Global Apartheid, Refugees, Racism and the New World Order*. Oxford U. Press.
- Seth, Sanjay. 1995. "Nationalism in/and Modernity" in Camilleri,
- Shore, Cris. 2000 "Forging a European Nation-State? In *Building Europe: The Cultural Politics of European Integration*, Routledge.
- Jarvis and Paolini, *The State in Transition: Reimagining Political Space*.
- Snyder, L. L. 1982. *Global Mininationalism: Autonomy or Independence*. Greenwood.
- Varenne, Herve. 1993. "The Question of European Nationalism" in *Cultural Change and the New Europe* ed Wilson & Smith, Westview Press: Boulder.
- Verdery, K. 1993. "Whither Nations & Nationalism?", *Daedalus* (Summer): 37-44.

II. THEORY and HISTORY OF NATIONALISMS

- Alter, Peter. 1994. *Nationalism*. OUP.
- Armstrong, J. A. 1982. *Nations Before Nationalism*, U. of North Carolina Press.
- Berberoglu, B. 1995. *The National Question*, Temple U. Press: Philadelphia.
- Breuilly, John. 1982. *Nationalism and the State*. Manchester U. Press.
- Deutsch, Karl. 1966. *Nationalism & Social Communication*.
- Isaacs, H. 1975. *Idols of the Tribe: Group Identity and Political Change*.
- James, Paul. 1996. *Nation Formation*. Sage.
- Karmenka, Eugene (ed.) 1973. *Nationalism: the Nature and Evolution of an Idea*, ANU Press.
- Kohn, Hans. 1945. *The Idea of Nationalism*, Macmillan.
- Seton-Watson, Hugh. 1977. *Nations and States: An Enquiry into the Origins of Nations and the Politics of Nationalism*.
- Shafer, Boyd. 1995. *Nationalism: Myth and Reality*, Harcourt Brace.
- Smith, Anthony. 1976. *Nationalist Movements*.

- Smith, Anthony. 1979. *Nationalism in the Twentieth Century*, Oxford.
 Smith, Anthony. 1986. *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*, Oxford.
 Smith, Anthony. 1991. *National Identity*, London.
 Smith, Anthony. 1983. *Theories of Nationalism*, 2nd ed. , Holmes & Meier, N. Y.
 Watson, M. (ed.) 1990. *Contemporary Minority Nationalism*, Routledge.

V. NATIONALISM, SEX/GENDER and SEXUALITIES

- Curthoys, A. 1993 "Feminism, Citizenship & National Identity", *Feminist Review*, 44 : 19-38.
 Druharajan & Vickers. 2002. *Gender, Race and Nation: A Global Perspective*, U of T press (forthcoming Jan.).
 Hall, C. 1993. "Gender, Nationalism & National Identities", *Feminist Review*, 44: 97-103.
 Hall, C. ; Jane Lewis; Keith McClelland and Jane Randall (eds.), 1993. *Nationalisms and National Identities: Special Issue – Gender History*
 Ivekovic, Radha. 1993. "Women, Nationalism and War, " *Hypatia*, Vol. 8, No. 4, Fall.
 Korac, Maja. 1996. "Understanding Ethnic-National Identity: Women's Experience", *Women's Studies International Forum*, 19(1/2): 133-93.
 Kadyjyoti, D. 1991. "Identity & its Discontents: Women & the Nation, " *Millennium* 20: 429-443.
 Marakowitz. 1996. "Gender and National Identity in Finland, " *Women's Studies International Forum*, 19 1/2: 55-63.
 McClintock, Anne. 1993. "Family Feuds: Gender, Nationalism & the Family", *Feminist Review*, 44 (Summer).
 Moose, George. 1985. *Nationalism and Sexuality*, University of Wisconsin Press.
 Nash, Mary. 1996. "Political Culture, Catalan Nationalism and the Women's Movement. . . Spain", *Women's Studies International Forum* 19(1/2): 45-54.
 Parker, et al. *Nationalisms and Sexualities*, Routledge.
 Peterson, V. Spike. "The Politics of Identity and Gendered Nationalism" in Neack, Hey, Haney (eds.) *Foreign Policy Analysis*, Prentice-Hall.
 Vickers, Jill. 1983. "Sex/Gender and the Construction of National Identities", *Canadian Issues/Themes Canadiens*, 3 (Fall): 34-49.
 Vickers, Jill. 1994. "Notes Toward a Political Theory of Sex and Power" in Radtke & Stam (eds.) *Power/Gender: Social Relations in Theory and Practice*, Sage.
 West, Lois. 1992. "Feminist Nationalist Social Movements", *Women's Studies International Forum*, 15, 5-6: 563-79.
 West, Lois. 1996. *Feminist Nationalism*, Routledge.
 Yuval-Davis, N. & F. Anthias (eds.). 1989. *Woman-Nation-State*, London.
 Yuval-Davis, Nira. 1991. "The Citizenship Debate: Women, Ethnic Processes & the State", *Feminist Review*, 39 (Winter): 58-68.
 Yuval-Davis. 1996. *Gender and Nation*, Sage.

B. NATIONALISMS IN SETTLER SOCIETIES

Settler societies are "societies in which Europeans have settled, where their descendants have remained politically dominant over indigenous peoples, and where a heterogeneous society has developed in class, ethnic and racial terms" (Stasiulis & Yuval-Davis, 1995: 3).

I. COLONIAL NATIONALISMS

- Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined Communities*, revised ed. Verso chs. 1-6.
 Eddy, J. & D. Schreuder. 1988. *The Rise of Colonial Nationalism*, Sydney/London.
 Lake, Marilyn. 1992. "Mission Impossible: How Men Gave Birth to the Australian Nation - Nationalism, Gender and Other Seminal Acts, " *Gender and History*, Vol. 4, No. 3: 305-22.
 Stasiulis & Yuval Davis, *Unsettling Settler Societies*, Sage, esp. Intro & Chs. 2 (NZ), 3 (Australia), 4 (Can.), 5 (US) & 6 (Mexico).

II. WHITE NATIONALISMS

- Cameron, D. 1974. *Nationalism, Self-Determination & the Quebec Question*, Toronto.

- Cook, Ramsay. 1995. *Canada, Quebec and the Uses of Nationalism*, 2nd. ed. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Inc.
- Duchastel, Jules et al. (eds.). 1995. *Être ou Ne Pas Être Québécois* UQUAM .
- Fousek, John. 2000. *To Lead the Free World: American Nationalism & the Cultural Roots of the Cold War*, U. North Carolina Press.
- Handler, Richard. 1988. *Nationalism and the Politics of Culture in Quebec*, Madison,
- Jean, Lamothe, Lavigne and Stoddart. 1986. "Nationalism and Feminism in Quebec, " in Hamilton and Barrett (eds.) *The Politics of Diversity*, 322-88.
- Jenson, J. 1993. "Naming Nations", *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*, Vol. 30, No. 3: 337-58.
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